

THE
Anti-Slavery Reporter

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR : ADDRESS FROM THE SOCIETY	107
SLAVE WOMEN IN PEMBA : THE STORY OF MSICHOKE	110
ZANZIBAR MAINLAND SLAVERY : LETTER FROM BISHOP TUCKER	115
NATIVE LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA : PARLIAMENTARY PAPER	117
NATIVE TAXATION IN THE TRANSVAAL	126
DEPUTATION TO THE KATIKIRO OF UGANDA	128
PARLIAMENTARY : UGANDA, CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATES	130
SLAVE RAIDING IN NORTHERN NIGERIA	132
THE NILE ROUTE THROUGH AFRICA : SIR C. ELIOT'S JOURNEY	132
THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES	133
REVIEW : <i>From Slave to College President</i>	136
FIGHTING WITH SLAVE DHOWS	137
SLAVE TRADING IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA	137
NORTHERN NIGERIA	139
SOUTHERN NIGERIA	140
FORMER SLAVERY IN BAROTSILAND	140
SLAVE TRADE IN MOROCCO	142
THE EMANCIPATION ACT OF 1838	142
OLD SLAVERY CUSTOMS IN BURMA	143
OBITUARY : MR. EDWARD HARRISON	143
MISS R. DAVENPORT-HILL	144



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1902.

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[*The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]*

The Sultan of Zanzibar.

ADDRESS FROM THE SOCIETY.

We referred briefly in our last issue to the death of His Highness Seyyid Hamoud bin Muhamad, Sultan of Zanzibar, on the 18th of July. The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society resolved to present an address of congratulation to the appointed successor, who at the time of the late Sultan's death, was on his way back from attending the celebrations appointed for King Edward's Coronation, to which he went as Special Envoy. The address, which is given below, has been sent to the Foreign Office, with the request that it may be forwarded to Zanzibar for presentation to His Highness.

The following account of the new Sultan and his proclamation is given by the Zanzibar *Gazette* of July 23rd :—

On Sunday morning, July 20th, at ten o'clock the British residents assembled at the Palace at the request of Mr. V. K. Kestell-Cornish, His Majesty's Acting Agent, to hear the successor to the late Sultan proclaimed. A very large number of Arabs was present. Mr. Rogers, with the officials of the Zanzibar Government, stood at the head of the Grand Staircase and received Mr. Kestell-Cornish heading the British community. The Goanese Band of His Highness the Sultan played the National Anthem on their entry.

At once all took up their positions in the Baraza Room, at the end of which the vacant Throne was placed. Mr. Kestell-Cornish occupied the chair on the right, Captain Coke, of H.M.S. *Terpsichore*, and the officers of the ship, His Majesty's Judges, Mr. Venables, H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul, Dr. Charlesworth, the Zanzibar Government officials, and the British residents informally arranged continuing the line down the whole length of the room ; the Arabs more than filling all the space opposite. Mr. Rogers occupied the chair on the left of the Throne.

Mr. Kestell-Cornish then rose and expressed briefly the sorrow he himself and the community felt at the death of the late Sultan of whom all thought so highly, and declared we must recognize his being taken from us as the Will of God. He then declared the successor to His Highness Hamoud bin Muhamad in the terms of the

Proclamation published below, and the provision of the Regency. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the *Terpsichore*, the *Nyanza*, and from the Palace Battery ashore, to mark the Proclamation of the new Sultan, while the band played the Zanzibar Anthem. The flag at the Palace was hoisted and all the ships in harbour "dressed."

H. H. SEYYID ALI BIN HAMOUD.

His Highness Seyyid Ali, who succeeds, has received the benefits of a public school education at home, and has enjoyed the advantages of travel. Some five years since he made a four months' tour of South Africa, staying on his way to see thoroughly the Cape, Kimberley, Johannesburg, Durban and the Coast ports. In South Africa he made the personal acquaintance of several prominent men, notably Lord Milner, Mr. Rhodes, most of the new heads of the Transvaal Colony, Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Col. Sanderson of Irish fame. On his return from the Cape Seyyid Ali went on at once to England, and was placed with a tutor at Oxford, Mr. Farnell, then Vice-Rector of Exeter College, and also went to a day school "to learn games." Nearly three years at Harrow followed, where he was in the house of Mr. Bosworth-Smith, well-known for his sympathies with Easterns. After leaving Harrow, Seyyid Ali spent some six months in travelling on the Continent, principally in Italy and Switzerland.

PROCLAMATION.

"I am authorised by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to appoint Seyyid Ali bin Hamoud bin Muhamad bin Said to be Sultan of Zanzibar and by the same authority to appoint Mr. Rogers, the First Minister of the Zanzibar Government, as Regent until His Highness Seyyid Ali shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

"In the name of His Majesty the King I proclaim Seyyid Ali bin Hamoud bin Muhamad bin Said to be Sultan of the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and the territories on the mainland belonging to the Sultanate of Zanzibar.

"I also appoint Mr. Alexander Stuart Rogers to act as Regent until His Highness Seyyid Ali shall be twenty-one years of age."

(Signed) V. K. KESTELL-CORNISH,

Acting British Agent and Consul-General.

Zanzibar, 20th July, 1902.

(15th day of Rabeah Akher 1320.)

The *Gazette* of July 30th announced the arrival of His Highness at Zanzibar on the 27th. The following list of previous rulers of Zanzibar, published by the *Gazette*, may be found useful for reference.

The Throne was formerly united to that of Oman, but has been distinct since 1856 as shown below.

OMAN AND ZANZIBAR.

<i>Began to reign.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
------------------------	---------------	--------------

1741	Ahmed bin Said	Jan. 1775
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1775	Said bin Ahmed	
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1779	Hamed bin Said	Mar. 13, 1792
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Mar. 18, 1792	Sultan bin Ahmed	Nov. 20, 1804
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Nov. 20, 1804	Salim bin Sultan	April, 1821
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*Nov. 20, 1804	Said bin Sultan	Oct. 19, 1836
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* Salim and Said for a time ruled conjointly.

ZANZIBAR.

Oct. 28, 1856	Majid bin Said	Oct. 7, 1870
Oct. 7, 1870	...	..	Bargash bin Said	...	...	Mar. 27, 1888
Mar. 29, 1888	...	...	Khalifa bin Said	...	...	Feb. 14, 1890
Feb. 14, 1890	...	...	Ali bin Said	...	...	Mar. 5, 1893
Mar. 7, 1893	...	...	Hamed bin Thuwaini	...	...	Aug. 25, 1896
Aug. 27, 1896	...	...	Hamoud bin Muhamad	...	...	July 18, 1902
July 20, 1902	...	...	Ali bin Hamoud.			

The Zanzibar *Gazette* of August 6th, after describing the way in which the news of the Sultan's death was received in Pemba Island, adds :—

"The most remarkable thing connected with this sad event is the difference in the attitude of the people towards British subjects and officials six years ago when Seyyid Hamood bin Thwain died and now. At that time armed mobs paraded the streets and threatened British subjects, and even went to the Vice-Consulate and proclaimed their intentions of 'clearing out' all Europeans.

"Several British Indians living in the Shambas were plundered, and a man-of-war had to be sent here. Now a marked respect is shown to the British officials, everything has gone on without the shadow of a disturbance, and H.H.'s Commissioner walking through the streets and suburbs the day after the news arrived was greeted everywhere with respectful sympathy: everyone, Arabs, Swahili, and Indians, standing up as he passed by."

AN ADDRESS FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To His Highness SEYYID ALI, SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR,
May it please Your Highness,

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society begs leave to offer its respectful congratulations on the occasion of the accession of Your Highness to the Sultanate of Zanzibar, and to express its earnest desire that Your Highness may enjoy a long and prosperous reign.

The Committee has heard with peculiar interest of the accession of a Prince who has spent some time in England, and who must, therefore, appreciate the benefits of freedom so long enjoyed by our people. This Society, which has long taken a deep interest in the welfare of the inhabitants of Zanzibar, has been thankful to know of the advance in the direction of liberating the slaves which has already been made in the islands under the rule of Your Highness, and especially for the edict issued by His Highness the late Sultan in April 1897, enabling slaves to obtain their freedom on application to the Court. The Committee trusts that this edict is known to all persons in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and hopes that it may shortly be extended so as to embrace the class of women now excluded from its benefits.

The Committee earnestly desires that the reign of Your Highness may be distinguished by the extension of the edict to all subjects of Your Highness and to all parts of Your dominions, feeling assured that the development and true

prosperity of the country and people under Your Highness's rule can only satisfactorily be secured by the speedy termination of the status of slavery throughout the Sultanate of Zanzibar.

The Committee respectfully commends Your Highness to the blessing of GOD.

On behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, *President.*

TRAVERS BUXTON, *Secretary.*

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,

25 August, 1902.

The above letter was forwarded to the Foreign Office, and in acknowledging its receipt, Lord Lansdowne, writing on September 8th, stated that the address had been forwarded to the Acting British Agent at Zanzibar for presentation to the Sultan.

A copy has also been sent, with covering letter, to the First Minister of His Highness, Mr. A. S. Rogers.

Slave Women in Pemba.

We have received a letter from Mr. H. Armitage, of the Friends' Mission in Pemba, drawing attention to the position of female slaves in the Islands, under the Decree of 1897. By Article V. (the text of which is quoted at the end of Mr. Armitage's communication below), women who are claimed by their masters as belonging to the harem, are not allowed to demand their freedom, excepting when cruelty can be proved. The hardship which this state of the law may involve is illustrated by the case of a slave girl, which recently came before the Commissioner's Court in Pemba, and Mr. Armitage has sent home full particulars of the girl's story in the hope of awakening British public opinion on the subject. He has also submitted several questions suggested by the case to Mr. Basil Cave, the British Consul at Zanzibar.

The story, it may be added, has also been published in *The Speaker* and in *The Friend.*

Mr. Armitage writes to us as follows :--

"There have been several cases recently before the Court of women slaves claiming their freedom and being opposed by their masters on the ground that they are concubines.

"Last week a case came before the Commissioner here which, as it illustrates the difficulties which those who make a fight against becoming concubines have to combat, may be of interest, and I will write it separately in case you may wish to make use of it by itself. I may add that the story is, I believe, absolutely true. No suggestion is implied of unfair dealing on the part of the officials ; in fact, the Commissioner himself, when the case came before him, appeared most desirous to give the applicant her freedom, but the law as it stands does not allow him any option if the owner will not relinquish his right and no cruelty is proved."

THE STORY OF MSICHOKE.

In sending this story for publication I desire to state at the commencement that no reflections are intended to be conveyed against those who administer the law in these Islands. It is the law itself that is wrong—cruelly wrong, and as the Decree of 1st Zilkada, 1314, was for the main part drafted by Englishmen, it is to English people we appeal on behalf of those who are living in a bondage worse than slavery and for whom, as the law stands, there is no escape. We cannot but believe that every thoughtful English man or woman will desire that, in these Islands over which we as a Nation have accepted the responsibility as a Protectorate Power, every form of slavery may cease.

The story has been very carefully written down from the girl's own words and, where possible, verified. The explanatory parts have necessarily been added.

HERBERT ARMITAGE,

20th August, 1902.

Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba, Zanzibar.

Msichoke is a woman of perhaps 17 or 18 years of age; she is an "Mdigo," a tribe living near Tanga on the East Coast of Africa. She was imported into Pemba Island when she was a very little girl and she can remember being sold by the "Dalali" or public auctioneer. She was purchased by an Arab lady named Binti Abderahim and she lived with her, doing the work usually given to a small girl-slave, waiting upon her mistress, fetching water from the well and such like. As she grew older she was given other work, and at the time of the incidents related in this story she had for some years been employed in every form of slave-labour, including that of picking cloves, for which, by the way, she received pay at the rate of 4d. for every "pishi" (about 6-lb.) picked. This is the only form of labour which, even at the present time, is paid for by the Arabs, except in very few instances. Slaves and freed-slaves being all expected to work three or four days a week in return for the privilege (?) of living on the Arab's land and having a little land to cultivate for themselves.

All this time Msichoke had been the slave of the old lady mentioned above, but now the son desired to have her in his harem as his concubine, and his mother states that she gave Msichoke to him many years ago. We have only the mother's words and the son's corroboration in proof of this transaction, the girl denies it absolutely and maintains that she always has been and is the slave of Binti Abderahim. Of course the gift might have been made without the girl's knowledge. And it is worth while remarking here that unless the gift were made previous to 1st August, 1890, it would not be valid (*see* Seyid Ali's Decree, 1890), at least not as we read the Decree. In the Court when the case was tried it was found difficult to prove how long ago this transaction took place, the word "zamani," meaning a long time ago, but constantly used to mean only a few weeks ago, being the chief information vouchsafed.

Msichoke, however, objected strongly to being taken into this man's harem and soon found an opportunity to make her escape, and coming into the town of Chaki-Chaki she obtained work with the Hindu shop-keepers, and for a while, probably in 1900, worked for a month or two in the house of the British Vice-Consul. From each one of these situations she was from time to time driven away by her master or mistress getting to know where she was, and dreading re-capture she fled.

In 1902, probably in May, she made her first application to the Court for Freeing Slaves and asked for her freedom. Her master being at the Court himself that day immediately claimed her as his concubine, and the Commissioner, hearing that the

woman who had come to apply for her freedom was so claimed, handed over the case (I am quoting the girl's statement in saying this) to the Wali telling him to judge it. The judgment was soon over and the girl was at once given over to her master, who was told to carry her away. The poor girl, being thus consigned back to the vilest form of slavery by the very Court from which she had hoped to receive such great help, lost heart and meekly submitted to be driven back to her master's shamba—"driven" is the correct word to use in this case, as her lord and master mounted his donkey and, accompanied by his servants, drove the wretched girl in front until he reached his own land, about three hours' ride away. On arrival there he taunted his victim with many words, telling her that although she had tried many times to escape him, *now* she was his. He then took her into his house and, after having the goods removed from one of the rooms, tied her hands together and then with the same rope tied her to the beam which crossed the room overhead so that she stood with her arms above her head. He also beat her, but with his fists only, for, as she naively remarked, "He dare not beat me with a stick because the marks would show." (A concubine who can prove cruelty, show marks of beating, etc., can be at once freed. See Decree "Africa, No. 2, 1897").

Her master's wife being, we will hope, of a more gentle disposition than her husband, found her thus tied up and unfastened her after some hours. Msichoke was then kept in confinement in this one room several days. Meanwhile her courage had returned, and one night she tore away the earth wall of the room beneath the door frame and ran away again. She betook herself again to the Court, having great faith in the "Bwana Mkubwa" (the Commissioner, Mr. J. P. Farler), if she could only be tried by him. Alas! the Court was closed and the Bwana Mkubwa had gone to Zanzibar to take part in the Coronation celebrations which were expected to take place. Msichoke, therefore, had to wait a month or so until another Baraza was held. Meanwhile she had made the acquaintance of a woman named Suria, the wife of one of the Friends' Mission servants, who told her that if she applied to the Europeans at Cha-Chani where Suria herself lived, she could not help being made free; a rather delusive hope as it fell out. However, on July 31st of this year, she made her way to the New House of the Friends' Industrial Mission and being introduced by a boy who had himself been freed some years ago, she made her desire known, which was simply "to be freed." She said nothing whatever of past difficulties. She was at once provided with a note to take to the Commissioner and duly arrived at the Court where Mr. Farler, hearing that she was claimed by an Arab as his concubine, but hearing also from the girl's own lips that she denied being the man's concubine, denied too that she was his slave at all, decided to hear the case fully another day when her old mistress and the son too could be present to give evidence. This was fixed for Thursday, August 7th, and on that day Msichoke duly presented herself at Court, and caused a lot of trouble and annoyance by suddenly running away again. The reason she gives for thus hindering her own case is this: she said, "I saw my mistress was there and my master was there, and I heard one of the men at the table speak to the Wali about me, and I thought that the Wali, and not Mr. Farler, was going to judge me again, and I knew he would send me back with my master again, and my spirit became very weak. I was very much afraid and I ran away."

This running away, when of course there was no real occasion for fear, for the Commissioner has always sympathy with a woman making a claim of this sort, damaged her case to some extent, but the girl went before him again on the Saturday, accompanied by the writer, when she told Mr. Farler that she had done wrong, and

he agreed to try the case again on the following Thursday. This duly came off, but the girl went to the Court entirely unprovided with witnesses. She said most pathetically that "it was no use asking any of her fellow-slaves to witness for her, they would all please her master and follow his words." She did, however, obtain one witness, a man in the service of the Government as boat boy, who stated in a very clear way that she was not a concubine, that she did work for all, that she cooked, and that she picked cloves, in short, that she did all the work that usually falls to the lot of a slave. Her own testimony she gave well and never deviated at all from it; that she was not, nor ever had been, this man's concubine, that she was not his slave, she was the slave of his mother. She mentioned several names of former fellow-slaves who could easily have been called had she only mentioned them before going to the Baraza. She and her one witness were of no avail, Arab after Arab came forward at the call of her master, all testifying upon the Koran that this woman was the concubine of Abderahim bin Rashid. In vain the Commissioner asked her if she had been beaten, hoping, one could not help feeling, that she would have some marks to show, and thus help him to decide the case in her favour, but there were no marks. She had been beaten she said, but with his fists only. Finding them from the tone of the Court, and the questions, that she had little reason to hope for a favourable ending, she said with great vehemence, "I will not go with him! I will not go with him! Send me to the gaol: but I will *not* go with that man." The Commissioner then asked the Arab why he persisted in wanting this girl in his house when it was perfectly evident that she hated him and would assuredly run away again next day. "Better" he said, "give up your claim upon her as your concubine and the Court will grant you a good compensation, and let her be freed."

"Bwana," replied the Arab, "I love her very much." At which the girl looked at him with positive scorn. "Your love! What is the profit of your love?" she said.

Finally the Court decided that she *was* the man's concubine, but as a last resource the Commissioner requested the Wali to take the girl, her Arab master, and the old mistress aside and see if he could not make them agree. He did so, and if plenty of words go for anything, he tried hard. But through the open door we could hear the Arab declining to relinquish his slave and equally in her turn we could hear the very positive "Siendi," "Siendi" ("I won't go") of Msichoke, so the endeavour to make them agree failed and the Court broke up.

Msichoke did not run back in front of the Arab's donkey this time, but she went with her master's company until she got to the house of the Europeans at Chanchi when she left the cavalcade and went to tell the Bibi how things had gone with her.

Msichoke soon found work, and went to stay with some people whom she calls "Father" and "Mother," but who are no relation. She was soon warned that it was not safe for her to stay there, so now she is a wanderer, not knowing when she may be seized and carried off to that Arab's house again.

Shall we not try to help her? This case is only one of many, and these details of it are given solely in the hope that this, to our minds, iniquitous law may be altered so that no woman may be compelled to live a life of shame with a man she abhors.

Extract from Decree of 1st Zilkada, 1314 (6th April, 1897). Article V.

"Concubines shall be regarded as inmates of the harem in the same sense as wives, and shall remain in their present relations unless they should demand their

dissolution on the ground of cruelty, in which case the District Court shall grant it if the alleged cruelty has been proved to its satisfaction.* A concubine not having borne children may be redeemed with the sanction of the Court."

The article in question was inserted in the Decree, with the view of making the measure more palatable to Oriental prejudices, and of assuring the Arabs that our Government did not want to interfere with Moslem marriage laws or "family rights." But it was at once foreseen by critics of the measure that the provision might be so used as to keep the great majority of slaves in bondage, for, it was said, a master has but to claim his slave girl as coming under the category of harem women to prevent her from obtaining the benefits of the Decree. (The difficulty which a slave has in obtaining evidence to rebut such a claim is well illustrated in the case of Msichoke.)

Bishop Tucker has always laid great stress on the wrong and injustice inflicted by this part of the Decree, and the point was early raised by opponents of slavery in Parliament. The Government, however, strenuously denied that the article would have this effect, on the ground that it would only apply to women of the special class designated, and could not be extended to ordinary female slaves.

It is important to notice the words of Mr. (now Lord) Curzon on this subject, speaking in the House of Commons on February 10th, 1898:—

"The condition of these women (*i.e.* concubines) is very different from that of ordinary slaves. They are required only to perform the slightest domestic work; when they bear children they cease to be slaves, and their children are legitimate. It is clear, therefore, that these persons . . . are not slaves in the ordinary sense of the term, but are really wives. My friend (Sir R. Reid) insinuates . . . that a man has merely to declare that any slave girl is a concubine, or to announce his intention to treat her as one, in order to be able to evade the Decree and to retain her in slavery. No such thing has been done, I believe, or can be done—it would be a dishonest evasion of the Decree. . . . The only persons to whom that part of the Decree applies are, if I may use the word, *bona fide* concubines, who have acquired that status in the household of their masters, which cannot be claimed in favour of a slave who is only a potential concubine. Any woman treated as the hon. gentleman suggests, would only have to go before the court and state her case."

Equally clear is Sir Arthur Hardinge's statement in a despatch to Lord Salisbury, from Zanzibar, dated April 23rd, 1898 ("Africa, No. 6, 1898," pp. 76, 77):—

"An impression seemed to prevail among many critics of Article V. that a master could in virtue of it keep any female slave in servitude by merely declaring her a concubine, and Bishop Tucker has lent the sanction of his great authority to this delusion. Any person, however, acquainted with native customs would know that a concubine is a slave girl, whom her master . . . removes from the

* This last sentence is somewhat misleading. It does not mean that the *Court* has power to free a concubine, but, if the *owner* chooses to consider his concubine in the light of a slave, only the *Court* may permit her to be so considered and allow her to be freed and the owner to be compensated. At least this is the construction that we believe to be intended.—H. A.

category of common slaves, and has to treat for all purposes as a wife. . . . It ought, however, I think, to be made clear to those who criticize the law of Islam on this subject without personal experience of its working, that a slave woman, in Zanzibar at least, cannot be made a concubine against her will, and, further, that only those Arabs who are in fairly prosperous circumstances can maintain a large number even of voluntary concubines in their harems."

These official statements are important as showing what the framers of the Decree intended by Article V., and that they did not mean to shut the door of freedom upon an unlimited number of women slaves. Now that the consequences which were foreseen by opponents of slavery have come about, it seems clear that the measure stands in urgent need of modification, and that, as Mr. Armitage says, a cruel wrong is inflicted by the present law, as interpreted, on the female slave population of the Islands. The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society has under consideration the best way of taking up this question and endeavouring to press it upon the Government.

Zanzibar Mainland Slavery.

LETTER FROM BISHOP TUCKER.

THE Bishop of Uganda kindly allows us to publish the text of a letter which he addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a few months ago, in which he states so clearly the points on which the opponents of slavery in East Africa join issue with the Government policy of *laissez faire* that we feel sure our readers will be glad to have it before them.

The letter is as follows :

March 27th, 1902.

DEAR LORD CRANBORNE,

May I trouble you with a word or two further—especially on the point raised in your letter of yesterday's date which I have just received, and for which I thank you—as to the pledge given by Sir Lloyd Mathews with regard to the continuance of the legal status of slavery in Mombasa and the coast territories of the East Africa Protectorate. There are those who, as you observe, do not look upon Sir Lloyd Mathews' words as a pledge. I am among that number. I was present at the Baraza when they were spoken and certainly never connected them with the question of slavery. But for the sake of argument I am willing to assume that they do constitute a pledge. We have, however, on the other side a pledge, distinct and definite in its terms, given by Mr. Balfour to the House of Commons. In my previous letter I quoted the words, and therefore will not repeat them. That they were regarded by the Government as a pledge is proved by Mr. Curzon's words, spoken in the House of Commons a year later—early in 1898. Evidently referring to Mr. Balfour's speech in June, 1897, he said : "Then as regards the mainland, a pledge was given last year that at the earliest possible date the abolition of slavery would be carried out on the mainland also."

We are thus confronted by two pledges—a doubtful one given without authority or on doubtful authority by Sir Lloyd Mathews, and a definite one given by the leader of the House of Commons, speaking as the mouthpiece of the Government, and confirmed a year later by Mr. Curzon, speaking in the House of Commons as the spokesman of the Government and the Foreign Office.

As to a possible solution of the difficulty, may I ask you kindly to refer to the decree of Seyyid Ali Bin Said of August 1st, 1890—there you will find a definite pledge that the status of slavery in Zanzibar shall be unchanged. Clause 2 reads as follows: “We declare that subject to the conditions stated below, all slaves lawfully possessed on this date by our subjects shall remain with their owners as at present—*their status shall be unchanged.*” Could there be anything more definite? And yet in spite of that pledge and decree the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba has been abolished. Surely what has been done in Zanzibar may be done in Mombasa! I am aware that the existence of this decree of August 1st, 1890, was held to constitute a ground for compensation—and compensation has been paid. Why should not a similar line be adopted in Mombasa and the legal status of slavery be abolished with compensation? All complicity then of the British Government with an institution, “so alien”—(I am quoting Mr. Balfour’s words)—“to our traditions, our wishes, our whole habits of thought as the institution of slavery,” would be taken away. If the number of slaves in Mombasa be, as you stated in your answer to Sir J. Kennaway, only 15,000, the sum needed by way of compensation would be extremely small; more especially would this be the case if, as I contend, nine-tenths of the total number are illegally held.

You ask me whether I can give you any instances of the evils which still attend upon the status of slavery in Mombasa. Let me mention what is suggested to my mind by your statement that “the status of slavery consists in very little more than a certain money contribution.” This money contribution presses with peculiar and cruel force upon female slaves—for this reason—that women find a difficulty in earning *honestly* even a living wage. The result is that in the case of women this money contribution is earned by prostitution. The masters know that the women are thus able to earn money, and agreements are made with this in view. I had an opportunity afforded me in the case of *Heri Karibu v. Sheik Nwe*—which I quoted in my former letter—of cross-examining a master in the Provincial Court of Mombasa on this very point. “Would you,” I asked, “receive money from this woman no matter how it was got?” “No,” was the answer, “not if I believed it to be stolen.” “But would you if you knew it to be the wages of prostitution?” “Oh, yes!” was the ready answer. Masters know how the money contribution is earned—and can only be earned, yet they make these agreements with their slaves and insist on the fulfilment of them.

But I dare not go on, or I should tire you out, if I have not already done so. The fact is, as long as the institution is maintained, so long you will have

such a cruel state of things as I have indicated above. I don't say that by the abolition of slavery you will abolish prostitution, but what I do say is, that you will do away with the complicity of the British Government with it.

But, after all, what I wish to maintain above everything is that the Government has given a pledge—through Mr. Balfour—a pledge confirmed by Mr. Curzon—to abolish the legal status of slavery. I have, I think, shown that even a more binding pledge than Sir Lloyd Mathews'—a pledge embodied in the Sultan's decree of August 1st, 1890—has been met by the payment of compensation, and that what has been done in the case of Zanzibar can be equally well done in the case of Mombasa and the territory within the ten-mile limit.

Apologising for troubling you at such length,

I remain, &c.,

(Signed) ALFRED R. TUCKER,

Bishop of Uganda.

Native Labour in South Africa.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.*

THE important correspondence dealing with Native Labour in Southern Rhodesia, which was presented to Parliament at the beginning of August, calls for the careful attention of all who are interested in the labour question and the relation of blacks to whites in British South Africa. The present Blue Book brings out certain facts very clearly. One is that the mine-owners of Southern Rhodesia, while disclaiming the use of forced labour, are prepared to bring all possible pressure, short of actual physical compulsion, to bear upon the natives to induce them to work in the mines. This may be gathered not only from the valuable reports of Sir Marshal Clarke, the Resident Commissioner, but from the reports of proceedings at meetings held for the purpose of getting native labour, which were submitted by the British South Africa Company's officials to the Colonial Office.

Another important fact, and an encouraging one, is that Mr. Chamberlain, as representing the Government, promptly condemns any attempt or seeming attempt on the part of the Native Commissioners to apply undue pressure to the chiefs to induce them to supply labour, and the whole tone of the despatches from the Home Government is that of firm opposition to the use of coercive measures or inducements by the Chartered Company's officers.

Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner are equally opposed to the employment of Government officials for recruiting native labour. The question is discussed in Lord Milner's important despatch of October 4th, 1901, and definite instructions on this point are issued by Mr. Chamberlain to the Company in his letter of 3rd October which we quote below.

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The first twenty-five pages of the Blue Book are occupied with reports, forwarded to Downing Street by the British South Africa Company, of meetings or *indabas* held in different places in Southern Rhodesia, at which the Native Commissioners urged upon the natives the need of labour for the mines.

Now these gentlemen clearly have no easy task, for, while disclaiming the application of force by the Government, they are yet anxious to use every legitimate means of bringing pressure to bear upon the easy-going natives to induce them to supply the labour without which the mines cannot be developed.

It can hardly be denied, in spite of the vigorous assertions of the Company that Mr. Taylor's arguments were always perfectly legitimate, humane and judicious, that they have in several cases a certain ring of threatening about them, and they suggest that although the Government would, of course, not use force, *yet*, if the labour were not willingly supplied, the Government would know the reason why.

Thus at Insiza the Chief Native Commissioner said to the assembled natives :—

"Their duty was to go to work and not to remain idle in the kraals. . . . There could be no forced labour; the Government would not allow it. At the same time he wished them to go out willingly, knowing that they were carrying out the wishes of the Government and studying their own welfare. . . . He would have the Indunas realize that they were Government officials. They were paid so much, and in return the Government looked to them to assist in supplying labour. They must see that the boys turned out to work as it was their duty to do so. . . . The Chief Native Commissioner said that what he intended to convey was that the messengers would not go to the kraals and say to this or that boy, 'Here, you must come to work.' The Indunas must tell the boys to go. If they refused, then those who did so must be reported at once to the Native Commissioner, who knew what to do."

At Inungu the same gentleman said :—

"They must understand that this was now a white man's country and they must follow the white man. . . . Mr. Rhodes was coming up here very soon. He knew that the first question he would ask him, the Chief Native Commissioner, would be about the labour, and he would like to give him a satisfactory account of the natives in the Matoppos. He knew, and they knew, that Mr. Rhodes could be very angry. He was not a man who waited, but a man who took action at once. He would say, 'If I cannot get labour out of these people, I will soon get some from elsewhere.' . . . How would they like it if he (the Chief Native Commissioner) were to send the police and messengers round to their kraals to turn the people out to work?"

The Colonial Secretary was quick to detect the questionable tone of these harangues, and in his despatch to the Company of December 23rd, 1899, he wrote thus :—

"Mr. Chamberlain observes that in the course of those interviews the Chief Native Commissioner on several occasions employed language which indicated that the native chiefs were expected by the Government, which pays their salaries, to supply native labour as it is required. Your directors

will remember that in December, 1896, when the policy of using the Indunas as salaried Government officers in their several districts was first mooted, Mr. Chamberlain informed the High Commissioner that he had 'grave doubts as to the wisdom of a direct inducement being offered to the chiefs to supply native labour, as it might lead to something like compulsory labour, which cannot be permitted.'

Writing under the same date to the High Commissioner, Mr. Chamberlain criticized the system of recruiting for labour under the auspices of the Administration, and continued as follows :—

"I fully appreciate the desirability of encouraging the natives of the country to become industrious, and I have no doubt that the advice given by the Chief Native Commissioner at these meetings will have a good result. But I notice that the language employed by him on more than one occasion is liable to misunderstanding, and I cannot pass it over in silence. The Indunas, whilst they were clearly informed by him that the Government would not allow forced labour, were at the same time led to understand that they were expected to supply the necessary number of labourers, and that, as Government officials with stipends, they were to carry out the wishes of the Government.

"The system of obtaining a supply of labour through the Indunas, as set forth by the Chief Native Commissioner, appears to be liable to lead to a form of compulsory labour, and I desire therefore to request you to call the attention of the Resident Commissioner to the language used by Mr. Taylor, and to instruct him to furnish a full report upon the whole subject of the recruiting of labour for the mines."

The Report of Sir Marshal Clarke, Resident Commissioner, on the Recruiting of Labour for the Mines, dated April 4th, 1900, is a very important document, and deals with two main points : the deficiency of labour and means taken to supply it, and the identification of the Government with agencies for obtaining and distributing labour.

On the first point Sir M. Clarke writes :—

"In Rhodesia and elsewhere in South Africa, the actual mining work is done by the natives, and as a rule the demand for labour exceeds the supply. It is evidently the interest of the British South Africa Company, and the subsidiary Companies, to get men from the territory as far as possible ; the material is good enough, and the cost less than when they have to go far afield. Unfortunately neither the Matabele nor other Rhodesian tribes take kindly to labour in the mines, and they have little inducement to do so ; their wants are few, and till lately money had no value to them.

PRESSURE ONLY SHORT OF FORCE.†

"To a large extent this is still the case, and they work in the mines either from direct pressure brought to bear on them by the Administration, a pressure

† The headings are our own.—Ed. *A.-S. Reporter.*

only short of force, or the necessity of earning enough to pay their taxes. This naturally does not tend to make industry attractive, and the duties of the Native Commissioners to induce the native to work, and afterwards to collect taxes from wages unwillingly earned, makes their positions difficult and detracts from their influence.

WORK IN MINES DISLIKED.

"The great majority of the natives sent to the mines stay as short a time as they can, and during the rainy season object to go at all. The Matabele think it beneath their dignity to work. The tribes which have been directly subject to them, and the Mashona, are an agricultural people, and judged by the standard of other South African tribes, industrious, the men doing the work in the fields, which in many places falls to the women ; tilling, hoeing, and weeding occupies their time from November to March. It would be a difficult matter without the employment of force to wean the natives from their fields, and to do so, having regard to the increasing native population of South Africa, would be unwise.

"The annual recurrence of deficiency of labour, due to this cause, seriously embarrasses the mining industry.

INDUCEMENTS TO LABOUR.

"The true inducement to labour, and the only one, I submit, calculated to benefit the natives, is the development of legitimate wants, which money can satisfy. Within the last few years the natives are acquiring wants ; many of them have got over the first fear of working underground ; above all, they are learning to enjoy some sense of security in their possessions.

"The necessity of providing means to pay taxes is but a temporary expedient, and does not work satisfactorily ; even the modified form adopted in the Glen Grey Act was strongly condemned by some of the most experienced officials in charge of the natives in the Cape Colony ; amongst others Sir Henry Elliott gave his opinion that it was regarded by the natives in the Transkei as objectionable and irritating. In Basutoland, although in practice the greater part of the taxes were paid from labour earnings, the Basuto at all public meetings and official interviews were careful to describe the hut as a land tax, the payment of which was derived from the soil.

THE NATIVES DISCONTENTED.

"At present there is undoubtedly discontent amongst the natives. This is due, primarily, to the constant pressure exercised by the Administration, and to the often arbitrary and illegal methods adopted by native messengers in collecting taxes and requisitioning labour.

TAXATION.

"With this in view, while recognizing the necessity of the mines having a continuous and dependable supply of labour, I think an immediate increase in taxation (though the natives could readily earn enough to pay more than they do) would cause further disaffection, which might lead to actual disturbance in

the future. Besides, it is very doubtful if any reasonable increase in taxation is calculated to attain the wished-for end.

"In 1899 the hut tax, which previously had been paid any time before the close of the year, was arbitrarily collected in July; the immediate result was that to meet this unforeseen call the natives turned out to work in thousands, the labour supply, of which there was a famine just before, exceeded the demand. This lasted for a month or two, during which time a lot of raw boys were being employed with little benefit to the companies. Then all the natives who had sought work under extraordinary pressure returned. Many deserted to their homes, leaving the mines worse off than ever."

Sir M. Clarke thinks the mining companies will have to import labour from elsewhere, especially when the natives have the chance of employment on railways and other work more congenial to them than mining.

*RECRUITING BY GOVERNMENT OFFICERS.

On the vexed question of Government officials acting as recruiting agents, Sir M. Clarke has formed a decided opinion.

"The mines draw their labour either from natives, who, coming from within or without the territory, offer their services directly, or from those sent to them by the Native Commissioners, and the Labour Bureaux; there are two Bureaux, one connected with the Southern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, Bulawayo, the other connected with the Salisbury Chamber of Mines. The former employ labour agents.

"In Mashonaland the Native Commissioners are the sole recruiting, and, in many cases, the distributing agents, and in both provinces they are alike required to 'use their utmost endeavours to induce the natives to work and to meet the demands of the various mines.'

CHOICE OF EMPLOYERS.

"The most satisfactory results are obtained where natives select their employers, and mines which have earned a good name complain far less of the want and incompetence of hands than those which have the reputation of treating their people unjustly, harshly, or inconsiderately, and whose supply depends on natives sent them by Native Commissioners, and labour agents. Natives so sent naturally think that in case of ill-treatment it is better to desert than to apply for redress to the official who has placed them.

"Efforts seem to be consistently made by the Administration, supported by some of the best mining companies, to ameliorate the conditions of labour, to ensure regular pay, fair treatment, and due attention in case of illness, but this is not the case with some of the companies and individual employers.

RECRUITING THROUGH CHIEFS.

"In recruiting labour, Native Commissioners call on the chief and indunas for their assistance, and considering the system of tribal and family responsibility general amongst South African natives, no other effectual course seems open to

them. Individual recruiting would at best have unsatisfactory results. Chiefs have an authority which it is useless to ignore. In case they were overtly or secretly opposed to their young men going to work they could always throw impediments in the way.

"Experience has also taught us that chiefs, sensitive as they are to the opinions of those under them, are less likely to act oppressively than native messengers or employees, who are always under the temptation to benefit themselves through the prestige they derive from Government, and over whom it is impossible to exercise a salutary control when they are out of reach of supervision.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM COERCIVE.

"The present system of recruiting is open to the objections that it is unduly coercive, that the Administration takes an active part in it, and is unable to afford adequate protection to the labourers."

In his Report of May, 1901, Sir M. Clarke stated that the system continued practically unaltered, after which the Colonial Secretary wrote a strongly-worded despatch to the Company, setting forth the grave objections to which it was open, and indicating that the Government should confine itself to the protection of labourers.

The material paragraphs of this letter of Oct. 3rd, 1901, are as follows:—

"Mr. Chamberlain desires to point out to your directors that the object of the clauses in the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council dealing with the Native Commissioners was to secure the protection of the interests of the natives and to enable them to look to these officers for the redress of any wrongs they might suffer at the hands of mining companies and others; and that if this object is virtually defeated in the manner described and the peace of the country thereby endangered, it will be necessary to amend the Order in Council and provide (at the expense of the Rhodesian revenues), for the appointment of officers dealing with native officers who shall be directly responsible to the High Commissioner.

"In the case of the organized importation of labourers from oversea, it is generally found necessary that the Government of the country requiring the labour should be directly responsible to other Administrations for the recruiting and distribution of the labourers, and there could not in this case be any serious danger to the peace of the country arising from instances of unjust or harsh treatment of the labourer by the employer.

"In the case of the supply of native labour from within, the conditions are different. The labourer cannot dissociate those who have taken part in obtaining his labour from any ill-treatment he may receive. In the present case of Southern Rhodesia he imagines that it is useless to appeal for redress to those whom he ought to regard as his natural protectors. Ill-treatment by employers may easily result in widespread discontent among the native population generally.

"It is for the British South Africa Company to consider what steps should be taken to provide labour from within Southern Rhodesia not open to the above-mentioned objections; but Mr. Chamberlain would suggest that the

proper system for dealing with indigenous labour is for the actual recruiting and distribution of the labourers to be carried out by an unofficial association acting through licensed agents, while the Government, through its own officers, confines itself to what is necessary for the protection of the labourer, e.g., ensuring that the contract entered into by the native is regular, contains no false representation, and is understood by the native, and that proper treatment is given to the native both before and after he is handed over to the actual employer."

On the question of Government officers acting as recruiting agents, Lord Milner writes no less strongly than Mr. Chamberlain, declaring himself wholly averse to it, although he says that he would probably have a great body of South African opinion against him. He considers that "there is an inevitable tendency for the officials so employed to be pressed by the wants of employers into using the influence and authority of the Government as a means for inducing a plentiful supply of labourers to come forward." When officials recruit, "the native when he thinks himself aggrieved, sees no person to appeal to except the very authority of which he wishes to complain."

Sir Godfrey Lagden, writing from Johannesburg in September, 1901, expresses a decided opinion to the same effect.

As a result of the firm stand taken by the Government on this important matter, instructions were cabled out by the British South Africa Company that the Native Commissioners were henceforth "not to interfere in labour questions, either directly or indirectly," and eventually, after a conference between the Resident Commissioner and the Administrator at Salisbury, a compromise seems to have been arrived at which was provisionally approved by the Secretary of State, after the visit of Sir M. Clarke to England early in the present year. By this, the Native Commissioners, while prevented from using undue influence, are allowed to register labourers and guide them to work. Sir M. Clarke thinks this would, for the time, work better than employing licensed agents acting independently of any central authority, but he speaks of it as an *ad interim* system, holding that the ideal plan would be that outlined by Mr. Chamberlain, according to which the Government would confine itself to seeing that the labourers are protected and treated fairly.

In his latest despatch, dated March, 1902, Sir M. Clarke makes the following important observations on the general question of native labour:—

"The great bulk of the natives seeking labour go to mines and railway works and are, when so employed, under the observation of Government officials called Compound Inspectors, whose duty it is to visit from time to time the mines or camps, and ascertain from personal observation and enquiry how the natives are treated, reports of each inspection being made to the Administrator; and it is found, in the majority of cases, employers are quite ready to meet suggestions for bettering the position of their workpeople The wages paid generally throughout the country are fair considering the quality and amount of work given in return, and, as a rule, the native is fairly treated, in many cases with consideration. Some few mines and employers have earned

for themselves a bad reputation, but this is soon brought home to them by the difficulty they experience in obtaining and keeping natives to work—a natural result by no means the least advantage derived from free labour.

“Considering the recent settlement of Europeans in the country, the various sets-back which it has experienced, and the exceptional demand for native labour from a people who could not at first realise the object of work, the progress made is, I think, encouraging. The natives are fast acquiring wants and voluntarily go to work in increasing numbers Another well-founded complaint one often hears is the short term of service given by the native—seldom exceeding three months at a time. For this I see no immediate remedy. I believe in the end it will be found necessary to introduce labour from abroad to supplement that derived from the indigenous native of South Africa.”

The broad question of how far it is legitimate—or as many in South Africa would say, necessary—to apply “pressure” to the natives to induce them to work, is one of the utmost importance at the present time both in Rhodesia and in the Transvaal, and the despatches included in this Blue Book which bear on it, directly or indirectly from various points of view, are highly instructive reading. We may mention as an illustration of how the difficulties may be met by tact and consideration, the report of Mr. H. M. Taberer, Chief Native Commissioner of Mashonaland, dated August, 1899, in which he describes a conference he had with the chiefs on the labour question.

“The chiefs replied that their people did not object to work, but they wished to work at places at which they did not die in such numbers. They complained of the quality of meal supplied at different times in the mines. . . . that the compounds were cold and that they were not allowed to have fires in them; that the air in the mines was very warm, contrasting in a marked manner to the open air; that they disliked the hospital and that they were made to live with other nationalities with whom they could not agree.”

The writer investigated these grounds of complaint, and found them, speaking generally, justified, whereupon he recommends sundry reforms and closes his report with these reasonable words :—

“This subject of labour has to be very carefully handled, in order that what is said or done may not prejudice the natives to a wrong impression of the duties and responsibilities connected with one’s position. I have used what arguments I could to induce them to work for more than the mere hut-tax, informing them that I spoke as their friend, as the person who was entrusted with their care and guidance, and as such having at heart a strong desire for their welfare and prosperity; and I trust that the lines upon which I have worked in the matter will be approved.”

We have referred to Mr. Chamberlain’s determined condemnation of any approach to compulsory labour. But we observe that Lord Milner’s tone is rather less unequivocal. In his despatch of October 4, 1901, he wrote as follows :—

“As regards pressure on the part of the Administration, I am bound to say that, while I should strongly condemn any sort of physical compulsion or the use

of threats as inconsistent with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, to which I loyally adhere, I can see no objection to responsible officials, such as Native Commissioners, explaining to the natives under their charge the advantage, and, as far as the idea can be made comprehensible, the duty of labour of some sort. The black man is naturally inclined much more than the white to do nothing at all. As the economic compulsion which is found in European countries does not exist here, he will, if left to himself, generally live in absolute idleness, without adding in any way to the productive power of the country in which he lives. I cannot conceive that, under any except the most distorted code of morals, it can be thought right for us to encourage him in this attitude, or even not to dissuade him from it by all reasonable means.

"I fully recognize the danger that in a country like Southern Rhodesia, where the Government has a great and vital interest in pushing forward a particular industry, it may be too much inclined to overstep the mark of what is reasonable and permissible in this matter; but we can admit the danger, and do our best to guard against it, without rushing to the other extreme and suspecting everyone who tries to persuade the black man to work for his living."

This sounds reasonable enough, but, unfortunately, the "duty of labour" which the Native Commissioners explain to the natives is labour of a particular sort, viz., work in the mines, which is urgently needed by the white man, and it is not in human nature to suppose that the Commissioners can explain, preach, dissuade, from purely philanthropic motives, and entirely for the good of the black man. The "suspicion" to which Lord Milner refers, therefore, can hardly be considered unnatural.

The policy of indirect inducements to work, *i.e.*, heavy taxation, is favoured by many of the writers in this Blue Book, though Sir Marshal Clarke's remarks on the subject in the report which we have quoted above, constitute a significant exception.

Lord Milner approves this "moral compulsion":—

"Again, I cannot see that it is any particular hardship that the black population should find themselves compelled to work by the necessity of earning enough to pay their taxes. That necessity is not unknown in European countries, nor to the white population here. I think it will be found that the taxation, direct and indirect, which falls on the black population in Southern Rhodesia—and, indeed, in South Africa generally—is extremely light in proportion, either to the taxation of white men or to that part of the expenditure of the country which is necessitated by the existence of the black population, and should therefore properly be defrayed by them. If the blacks, like large classes of the population in Europe, were only able to keep body and soul together by continuous toil, I could understand and sympathize with the plea for lightening their taxation, even though they did not pay their mathematical share; but since, as a matter of fact, they can, and do, generally speaking, live comfortably while doing little or no work, and could earn very considerable sums over and above their cost of subsistence by working a very moderate amount, I do not see that either moral or economic considerations should lead us to think them entitled to more lenient treatment than the other inhabitants of the country."

Sir Godfrey Lagden seems to hold a somewhat similar opinion, though he adds, "the native has uncommonly little to pay in taxes." From Mr. Chamberlain's

speech in Parliament, which we quote below, we gather that he agrees with Lord Milner, but the objections stated by Sir Marshal Clarke appear to us very formidable, viz.: that this taxation (1) to effect its purpose, must be excessive, and so it cannot be what Sir M. Clarke calls "reasonable"; (2) irritates the natives, and as it is often carried out in "arbitrary and illegal" ways, is too apt to lead to trouble.

We add the following interesting comments from an article on this subject in *The Standard* of August 5th:—

"One way, which seems to have had the approval of Lord Milner, and is indeed, much in favour with many South African experts, is that of taxing him (the native) sufficiently to render it necessary for him to earn a substantial sum in wages to satisfy the demands of the Revenue officer. Another plan is to let the Chiefs know that it is part of their duty to recruit for the mines, and to threaten them with the censure of the Government if they neglect to perform this function. Mr. Chamberlain, however, declined to be convinced by the arguments laid before him, and insisted that the native must neither be cajoled nor coerced into working if he is misguided enough to prefer a life of idleness. There is to be no compulsion, under any specious excuse. Forced labour, however veiled, is only a form of slavery, which is not to be tolerated in a territory under the British Crown. The local Administration is not even permitted to employ its own officials as Labour Recruiting agents, since it is very rightly held in Downing-street that this action might easily be misunderstood by the natives, who would be apt to regard an invitation from this quarter as something like a command."

We are glad to note that Mr. Chamberlain informed the South Africa Company in November, 1900, that he would desire to consider the proposals of the Administration for a labour tax before they were submitted to the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia.

We can only refer in passing to the other subjects touched upon in this Blue Book, such as the importation of Arab labourers from Aden and the careful rules laid down by the Colonial Office for the protection of imported labour; the Masters' and Servants' Ordinance, assented to by the High Commissioner; and the draft Immigration Ordinance submitted by the Chartered Company. The whole correspondence relates to subjects which are of pressing moment, and on the way in which they are treated not only in Rhodesia, but in our new colonies, will largely depend the good government and future prosperity of South Africa.

NATIVE TAXATION IN THE TRANSVAAL.

A TELEGRAM from Pretoria, dated August 29th, contained the following announcement:—

An ordinance which has just been published amends the laws relating to the taxation of natives. It provides an annual capitation tax of £2 for every male adult, also one of £2 for each wife over one that natives may have according to native custom. The natives who are exempted from the tax are those holding

letters of exemption from the operations of native law, or who, by reason of age or chronic disease, are prevented from working. The tax becomes payable in January next.

The regulations in connection with this ordinance provide for due notice being given to chiefs and headmen, in order that they may take the necessary steps to collect the taxes, which are to be paid in the presence of the chiefs, who will be held responsible for the payment of all taxes payable by the natives under them.

Speaking in the House of Commons on July 29th, the Colonial Secretary, in the course of a long speech, after referring sympathetically to the movement for introducing white labour into the mines, made the following important statement :—

"I should like, however, to say a little more than this on the subject of native labour. Here again I find that an impression exists—in some minds, not in many perhaps—that it is altogether wrong and improper, not merely to force or compel the black man to labour, but even to induce him to labour by indirect means. I differ entirely from that. In my opinion the future of the coloured race in Africa depends entirely upon our success and the success of other white nations in inducing them to labour. What has been the history of Africa hitherto? We know that labour has been impossible because of the local conditions. Labour has been impossible because the fruits of labour were not secured to the labourer, because the different tribes were engaged in interneccine strife and struggles, and there was no possibility of anything in the nature of peaceful industry. But now that that is all being stopped, as it is stopped by the progress of the white race in Africa, now that peace is secured, the future of the black is an impossible future unless he will work for his living, unless like every other man he is content to do something which affords a sufficient subsistence. Therefore I say as a principle that I am prepared to favour in every possible way the inducements which may be held out to the black man to labour in all the new Colonies which are under the British flag. Of course, as I said, that is not to be taken as supporting in any way whatever the idea of compulsory or forced labour. That is a totally different thing. All men are forced to labour in one sense by the necessity of providing for their subsistence or by the competition which exists. I do desire that the negro may be forced to labour in that sense, but not in the sense of actual physical compulsion brought to bear upon him. (Hear, hear.) The House may rest assured that no policy of that kind will receive from us the slightest support."

On this the *Spectator* commented as follows :—

"On the whole we agree with the principles he laid down, but we do not feel sure that he gave enough weight to the danger of using taxation to make the native more industrious. We have no doubt that the native gains immensely, both morally and economically, by being industrious, but unless the compulsion of taxation to make him industrious is used most sparingly and discreetly it may end in great tyranny. It is certainly not a safe weapon in the hands of men who are in a hurry to exploit negro labour."—*Spectator*, August 2.

Lord Milner, addressing the ex-burgurers at Pietersburg on October 7th, said that he regarded the native question from an unsentimental standpoint.

He believed that the natives should be protected, and should pay for this in taxation ; if such taxation should induce them to work, so much the better for all.

The Native Department, under Sir Godfrey Lagden, is reported to be making decided progress. Lord Milner has constantly had the difficulties of the native problem before him, says a Reuter's telegram of October 7th, and one of his first administrative acts was the appointment of Sir G. Lagden to take charge of native affairs ; the new regulations have already produced excellent results, and the work of the department has approved itself both to Boers and Britons.

The same authority reports that the great majority of natives have already been notified of the amount of the tax which comes into force next January, and no dissatisfaction has been expressed thereat.

Deputation to the Katikiro of Uganda.

A DEPUTATION of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society waited upon the Katikiro of Uganda at the Westminster Palace Hotel on August 6th, to offer its congratulations to that high native official on the noble and successful stand which he has made against slavery in Uganda. The deputation consisted of Sir T. F. Buxton, President of the Society, Mr. B. R. Balfour, Dr. R. N. Cust, Dr. R. W. Felkin and General Sir F. Goldsmid (Members of the Committee), the Bishop of Uganda (Corresponding Member), Mr. Joseph Sturge, and the Secretary.

We have already given some account of the interesting career of the Katikiro, who, in the infancy of the King of Uganda, is probably the most important personage in the country ; it is, therefore, no small matter for congratulation that his influence is entirely on the side of freedom.

His Excellency, who is a fine-looking man, tall and of large build, with a strong and decidedly pleasant face, received the deputation with genial courtesy. He was accompanied by his secretary, Ham Mukasa, and by the Rev. Ernest Millar, of the Church Missionary Society, who had kindly made all arrangements, and who acted as interpreter, translating the sentences, as spoken, to the Katikiro. Both the Africans were clad in loose, flowing native dress, which gave a picturesque touch to the interview.

Sir Fowell Buxton said a few words of greeting in introducing the deputation, and called on the Secretary to read the following address :—

55, NEW BROAD STREET,
LONDON,

6th August, 1902.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We have the honour to address you on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was founded in this city 63 years ago to oppose and seek to put down slavery and the slave-trade all over the world, and has ever since worked for that end.

Our Society has heard with great pleasure how, in 1893, you and many other Chiefs who held the Christian faith, expressed your determination to give freedom to your slaves, and to abolish the customs of slavery which had up to that time prevailed throughout Uganda. We take the opportunity which is afforded by your visit to England to be present at the Coronation of our Sovereign, to offer to you our respectful and earnest congratulations on the firm way in which you have used your important position and the great influence which you hold in your country, to put down the buying and selling of men and women as slaves, and to free those who were held in bondage.

We know how for years Your Excellency, as Chief Justice over the Native Courts of Uganda, has refused to recognize property in human beings; and we are assured that the great change which has been effected in the practices of the people of Uganda in regard to slavery is due not only to the laws which you have administered, but to the power of your personal example, and the position which you have consistently maintained on this subject.

We beg leave, therefore, as representatives of a Society which is deeply anxious to see the extinction of slavery everywhere, and especially in Protectorates under the British flag, to tender to you our congratulations and greeting.

(Signed)

T. FOWELL BUXTON, President.

TRAVERS BUXTON, Secretary.

The Katikiro then rose and spoke in reply with great readiness, his remarks being interpreted by Mr. Millar. He thanked the deputation sincerely for the address presented on behalf of the Society, and referred to some of the difficulties which he had at first had to contend with, when he became convinced that slavery was wrong. Slaves were allowed either to leave their masters, or to stay on with them as free servants, and many of the Katikiro's former slaves had come back to his service under the new conditions. Now there is no slavery in Uganda. He expressed his appreciation at what "the fathers" of those present had done to get liberty for African slaves.

Mr. Millar then read the formal reply, which ran as follows:—

"Sir Fowell Buxton and Gentlemen of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

"I am exceedingly pleased with the kind way in which you have spoken of me and of the action of the Christian Chiefs in Uganda in the matter of the abolition of domestic slavery in Uganda some nine-and-a-half years ago. I personally had long previously given my own slaves freedom to go as they liked, as I saw that slavery was not in accordance with the Word of God, and later on many of the other Chiefs were at one with me in this work of trying to get freedom for all the slaves."

"At first we experienced great opposition from King Mwanga and many of the other Chiefs, but at last we prevailed, and at the present time there is no one in the country detained by his master as a slave against his own wishes."

I trust that the good work done by your Society may extend more and more until perfect freedom to the slave reigns on this earth."

(Signed),

VZE APOLO KAGWA,

Katikiro of Uganda.

August 6th, 1902.

Bishop Tucker made a brief speech before the interview ended, and said that it was with deep emotion that he was present on such an occasion. Slave-raiding and all the customs of slavery were once rife in Uganda; now they had come to an end. The British officials had used all their influence against slavery, but when the Chiefs were divided, a man of energy was need to settle the question and this the Katikiro had done. This happy result is, in the Bishop's judgment, due more to Apolo Kagwa than to any other man.

A deputation from the British and Foreign Bible Society was present at the same time, and Mr. Henry Morris on its behalf presented the Katikiro and Ham Mukasa each with a Bible in the language of Uganda. A prayer was then offered by the Bishop of Uganda, and the deputations withdrew, after shaking hands with the Katikiro.

We think this occasion may be regarded as one of unusual interest, especially when we recall the active part which the Anti-Slavery Society took in urging the retention of Uganda upon the Government at the critical time in 1892 when the Chartered Company was obliged to retire from the country.

It is not often given to the Society to see so decided a result follow on its efforts within a comparatively short period, and the event may give good hope and encouragement for similar work against slavery in the future in other parts of Africa.

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 4TH.

UGANDA, CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATES.

ON the vote required to complete the sum of £715,093 for grants in aid of the expenses of the British protectorates in Uganda, Central and East Africa, and in Somaliland, and under the Uganda Railway Acts, 1896 and 1900,

SIR C. DILKE asked for information respecting the Uganda and British East Africa Protectorates. He said that at one moment the Government seemed to look forward to a merging of the two protectorates. Since then he believed a change of boundary had been effected and that a capital had been chosen which might be the capital of the two united protectorates if they were merged together. New facts brought home to us lately showed that great devastation had been wrought in Central Africa by the wars which had been carried on since we first went into that country. In a work published on the foundation of British

East Africa it was pointed out that the population of Uganda had been reduced. He next wished to ask certain questions with regard to the British Central Africa Protectorate. Up to the last report many of them were left under the impression that it was the one bright exception in Africa, that it was the one great success on which they might congratulate themselves. The report now before them hardly bore that out. He thought the future of this great tropical protectorate deserved attention. They were now told that there was to be a revised scheme of a hut tax, which was to be levied in higher proportion on a man who could not show that he had worked for a certain period in each year for a white man. That was a very dangerous thing (hear, hear)—a view which was held by people in all parts of the world, and by the working classes, who had frequently expressed their views on the matter. The next subject to which he wished to direct the attention of the noble lord was British East Africa, and there they had no new facts to go upon; they only knew that the legal *status* of slavery still continued to disgrace their rule, condemned as it was by all the most competent administrators. This was practically a British colony; their responsibility was direct. They had been able to abolish the legal *status* of slavery elsewhere, and surely the time had come to remove a condition of things which was discreditable to them. The House of Commons had made up its mind on this subject, and they would be false to themselves and to their convictions and policy in every other part of the world if they did not take the opportunity every year of uttering their protest.

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE said a good deal of the perplexity of the hon. member for East Mayo would be dissipated when he realized, what, evidently, the right hon. baronet the member for the Forest of Dean had already realized, that there had been a change in the boundary between Uganda and British East Africa. When it became clear that the railway was approaching completion, it seemed to His Majesty's Government that, in the interests of good administration, it would be far better that the whole of the area to be surveyed by the railway should be within one administration; and consequently the Foreign Office moved the former boundary between Uganda and British East Africa westward so as to embrace all the country which the railway traversed in one protectorate—namely, the East African Protectorate. Now under the new state of things the boundary was conterminous with the eastern shore of the lakes. That, of course, carried with it a considerable rearrangement as well. The right hon. baronet asked as to the frame of mind of the Foreign Office in respect of the much larger question of the complete amalgamation of the two protectorates. They had given very close attention to that subject, and he was not sure that he could say that even now the moment for a definite decision had arrived; but, undoubtedly, they had not abandoned hope that before long there would be an amalgamation between the two protectorates. For many purposes that had already taken place. So much, indeed, was the administration already amalgamated that he would invite the Committee, when considering the finances of the protectorates, to consider East Africa and Uganda as one fiscal unity. The right hon. baronet had said it was a matter very much to be regretted that their

presence in that country had led to a large diminution in the population. Undoubtedly there had been some very serious fights in the past in these protectorates; but, although the figures of the right hon. baronet had astonished him, he should hesitate to admit that all that they conveyed was due to the presence of the British Government in East Africa. He entirely agreed with the right hon. gentleman that it was most necessary that their Civil servants, and, indeed, their military servants, too, out there should be enabled, by a knowledge of the customs and the language of the people, to avoid those opportunities for friction which led to these wars and their regrettable results. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. baronet expressed the opinion that the prosperity of British Central Africa was on the wane. He did not think so. . . . The great want was that of labour. Nearly the whole of the labour of the protectorate was taken up in the transit trade from the Zambesi to the Central Lakes. That was a tremendous strain on their resources; but they hoped before long that the energy of private individuals would have produced in British Central Africa a railway which might take the place of these porters, release the labour they so much required, and save time to both the transit trade and trade of the locality. As to the question of slavery on the British East African mainland, he admitted that the principle was bad, but the application of the principle was a very small one. Let him say this, however—that slavery in the form in which it showed itself in East Africa was as unlike the slavery they had been brought up to hate and abhor as one thing could be unlike another. The sale of and traffic in slaves was absolutely forbidden by law; and, in short, he might say that exactly the same spirit that had dictated the abolition of slavery in all other parts of the world where the British Government had power had in this case diminished the institution of slavery in all its more objectionable features almost to the vanishing point. There were very few slaves left. They were rapidly diminishing, and in a very short number of years the institution would have ceased altogether.

SLAVE RAIDING IN NORTHERN NIGERIA.

In answer to CAPTAIN DONELAN, MR. BRODRICK, on behalf of MR. CHAMBERLAIN, said,—Slave-raiding in Northern Nigeria, as the official reports show, is disappearing *pari passu* with the establishment of British authority, but in the very large area with which the High Commissioner and his officers have to deal it would be impossible to say at the present time that it is entirely a thing of the past. All that can be said is that it is being steadily and progressively extinguished.

THE NILE ROUTE THROUGH AFRICA.

SIR CHARLES ELIOT, H.M. Commissioner for British East Africa, who has recently been for a few weeks in this country, made an interesting journey this summer through British East Africa, Uganda, the Upper Nile and the Soudan, reaching London early in September.

Sir Charles gave the following interesting account of his experience to Reuter's representative :—

"Accompanied only by native servants, I left Mombasa on June 28th with the object of travelling home by the Nile, my purpose being to see the military and commercial possibilities of that trans-African route. At Mombasa I entered a train on the Uganda Railway, and travelled by that line to the lake terminus at Port Florence, whence I crossed Lake Victoria to the Uganda Government headquarters at Entebbe and to Kampala. From Kampala I drove in an open buggy drawn by a pair of mules right across the kingdom of Uganda, a distance of 180 miles, to Butiaba, on Lake Albert. For four days I was driving along a good, broad, undulating road. Of course, I had relays of mules at the post *en route*. On reaching Lake Albert I embarked on a steel boat, and in two days was at Wadelai, where I transhipped into a smaller vessel, and three days later arrived at Nimule, the British post on the Upper Nile, opposite Dufile. From Nimule to Gondokoro (the northern frontier of the Uganda Protectorate), which is a section of rapids, I had to march for seven days along a native track. At Gondokoro I embarked on a Nile steamer, and arrived at Khartum on August 11th, whence I travelled home by easy stages. Regarding the possibilities of this route, I think it can be perfectly well employed for whatever purpose is necessary between Egypt and Uganda, but at present it cannot compete with the Uganda Railway. For the most part the country is unknown, with the exception of a strip on the banks of the river. The districts round Lake Victoria are known to contain india-rubber, valuable woods, and possibly minerals, all of which will be attracted by the Uganda-Mombasa route. One of the things most likely to be done in the future for increasing the value of the Nile route is the making of a railway line between Berber and Suakin. Probably at the end of the year there will be direct steam communication between Lake Albert and Nimule, for as I passed through Gondokoro a sectional steamer was then on its way up. This will prove a valuable supplement to the steel boats already referred to. As to the military value of the Nile route, there will be no difficulty in transporting troops from Uganda to the Soudan, should such a course be necessary. During the whole journey I had not the least difficulty with the natives, all of whom were perfectly friendly. Perhaps I saw most of them during the overland march from Nimule to Gondokoro, during which journey they rendered every possible assistance."

This is the first time that the journey has been made by a high British official, and the fact that it has been accomplished without danger and with comparative ease, is assuredly significant of the opening up of the interior of the great continent so long unknown.

The Race Problem in the United States.

WE have received a letter from a correspondent in Washington referring to an article which appeared in these pages last year on the Convict-leasing system in the Southern States. This lady throws considerable doubt on the improvements there reported to have taken place in certain States, and begs us to draw attention to the cruelties still perpetrated under that system, as well as to those of lynching.

CONVICT-LEASING.

"Should I tell you," she writes, "that in Georgia and some of the States where 'the system has been radically changed' (?), in some respects the poor convict-slave's chains have only been riveted tighter, you probably would not believe me. His life in a prison or convict camp is an earthly hell. Many are serving life sentences, thousands for trifling offences, some not guilty at all. Many whites suffer also in a similar manner, but they suffer for crimes really committed."

"Everything that can be done to get the negro into prison is done; everything that the human heart can invent is made use of to get the negro into prison so as to get his labour free. Once there he is helpless . . . He is worked under the lash the long day through, under an armed guard ready to shoot him down at the first sign of insubordination. At night he is flogged without mercy for not accomplishing an impossible task; he is chained to his bunk and left to groan the rest of the night. This is the case with thousands. The female and child convicts fare not much better in some of the States. . . . The average sentence for the negro is one-sixth longer than for the white convict. In some of the States nine-tenths of the criminals are negroes and that too where the white population far exceeds the blacks."

"Corrupt politics control the prisons. The prisoner's labour is sold to the highest bidder. The prisoners are bought and sold as slaves. They are leased and sub-leased some of them. The former slave-owner cared for his slave because he was his property; the convict is owned by the State. He is sold to a contractor who cares not half so much for his human chattel as he does for his pack of trained bloodhounds kept to catch runaway convicts." . . .

CHILDREN.

"But there is another sad feature connected with this convict-leasing, in fact it is found all over the South: it is the manner of obtaining children and keeping them in these convict stockades. Reformatories are not permitted by these new slave-holders. A few years ago a reformatory for children was commenced and partly built in Alabama, but so great was the power of the 'ring' that it was taken down; every brick was removed. If children live to come out of these earthly hells, they come thoroughly educated in crime."

Our correspondent writes as follows about

LYNCHING.

"Since the 1st of August, 1901, seven negroes have been burned at the stake besides many being butchered in cold blood. Those who died at the stake had received no trial but were caught, and to satisfy the mob had to die the most awful deaths imaginable. They were first dreadfully tortured, then allowed to slowly burn until death released them. Such burnings—'picnics' as they are sometimes called—are always witnessed by thousands, men, women and children. The victim's crime is usually an assault, or attempted assault on a woman; at least that is usually the excuse for burning him."

An enclosed cutting from a Chicago paper describes in all its ghastly details the torture and burning of a negro by a mob at Lansing, Texas, on

May 22nd last. Some account of this has been published in the *Daily News*, and correspondence has taken place in that and other London newspapers on the general question of lynching. The Chicago newspaper report describes how the negro was seized by an armed crowd of 4,000 men from the officers and bound to a stake in a large field :—

"It was 12.12 when all arrangements were completed. The crowd by this time numbered at least 5,000. The husband of the abused woman applied the match and the pyre was soon ablaze. Then began the torture of the negro. Burning pieces of pine were thrust into his eyes. Then burning timbers were held to his neck, and, after his clothes were burned off, to other parts of his body. He was tortured in a horrible manner. The crowd clamoured continuously for a slow death. The negro, writhing and groaning at the stake, begged piteously to be shot. . . . The negro's head finally dropped, and in 30 minutes only the trunk of the body remained. As the fire died down relic hunters started their search for souvenirs."

Attempts to explain and excuse lynching practices are futile before such horrors as these, and this account is only one of several newspaper reports before us of similar occurrences in different Southern States.

Professor Andrew Sledd, late of Emory College (for whites) in Georgia, in a paper on the negro question in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1902, writes :—

"In the last decade of the last century of Christian grace and civilization more men met their death at the hands of lynchers than were executed by due process of law. . . . The total number thus hurried untried and unshaven into eternity during these ten unholy years approximated seventeen hundred souls."

He says that a mere suspicion of wrong-doing furnishes ground for mob violence, that the mobs are the work of the lower and lowest classes. They make up as brutal a mob as ever disgraced the face of the earth. For them lynching is a wild and diabolical carnival of blood. The object of the mobs, he says, is to "teach the negro a lesson," and "burn into his quivering flesh the consciousness that he cannot have the rights of a free citizen, or even of a fellow-creature."

This writer also states that lynching is not used as a penalty for any single particular crime ; "it has," he says, "been repeatedly shown that only on a very small proportion (in some years one-tenth) of Southern lynchings are due to rape either actual or suspected."

The correspondent of *The Times* in New York in reporting the burning on September 28th of a negro who had committed an atrocious murder, says that the lynching was decided upon by a committee of citizens the previous day, and the people flocked into Corinth (Mississippi) "apparently regarding the affair as an opportunity for enjoying an unexpected Sunday *fête*."

The correspondent adds :—

"The burning of negroes in the South is now so frequent that the New York papers, which a few years ago would have used their biggest 'head lines' in publishing such news as the foregoing, to-day devote but little space to it. Each year the lynchings in the South grow more numerous and barbarous."

Of course, the respectable papers in the North protest, and a very few Southern journals are courageous enough to do likewise, but absolutely, without effect."—*Times*, September 30.

While we realize the difficulty for Englishmen of entering into the complicated "negro problem," we cannot understand how it is such practices appear to meet with so little reprobation even in the Northern States. We are glad to learn that there are newspapers in North and South Carolina which vigorously condemn lynching, but we wish that we could see more frequent expressions of outspoken and uncompromising condemnation by American public opinion of crimes so revolting and barbarous, rather than efforts to palliate and excuse them.

Review.

FROM SLAVE TO COLLEGE PRESIDENT.

THE LIFE STORY OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

BY G. HOLDEN PIKE.*

THIS is a short account of the life and achievement of Booker Washington, brought out by the publisher of his autobiography last year. It is by no means, however, a mere condensation of that volume, for the author dwells little on the personal details of Mr. Washington's life, dealing with it rather in relation to his work for his Race. He describes him as "the Man who has been wanted for 40 years," and—in somewhat optimistic terms—as one who is generally acknowledged to have "practically solved the Race Problem" in America. Mr. Pike discusses the position and needs of the negroes and the attempts which have been made in different directions, in spite of prejudice and many obstacles, to educate and uplift them. Emphasis is rightly laid on the high value of Booker Washington's conception of education in relation to labour. Formerly, nearly all the black people held the notion that the end of "school learning" was to raise a man above labour; General Armstrong and Booker Washington have showed how education will fit the negro to labour more effectively.

The latter began his work at Tuskegee in the conviction that academic training was, to a very large extent, thrown away on his people, who were not ripe for the study of the Greek and Latin classics, but needed to be taught how to work to advantage in trades and handicrafts. This truth is much better understood now than it was twenty-five years ago, and the success of such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee and others founded on the same lines has shown that the negro may be made to become a source of vast good to the Republic. No less than 17 schools of worth have been established by graduates of Tuskegee in eight different States.

Of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama which Mr. Washington has built up, General Armstrong, shortly before his death, said :

"It is, I think, the noblest and grandest work by any coloured man in the land. What compares with it in general value and power for good?"

From a recent number of the *Southern Letter*, a little monthly paper issued at Tuskegee, we learn that the school has just completed 21 years of work. During the last year, 965 youths and 429 young women were enrolled as students. Some idea of the nature of the school course is given by the statement, that during the year 800 acres of land were cultivated, 2,128,223 bricks made, and 200,000 feet of "lumber" sawed from timber to be worked into furniture, &c., by the students.

Fighting with Slave Dhows.

ANOTHER encounter has taken place in the Persian Gulf between a slave dhow and a force from a British warship. A boat party from the gunboat *Lapwing*, it appears, had a brisk encounter a few weeks ago with a slave dhow, the crew of which were armed and desperate. In the course of the fight one British Bluejacket was killed and two others were wounded. For some time past several British men-of-war have been keeping watch in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, where slave dhows and pirate ships have been running eastward from the African coast. H.M.S. *Scout* was engaged early in the present year upon the special work of chasing the slave and pirate ships which infest those waters. The Admiralty have issued an announcement stating that a telegram had been received from H.M.S. *Lapwing*, which reported that an encounter had taken place on the 4th September between armed boats of that ship and two piratical dhows, at the head of the Persian Gulf, in which one man had been killed and two wounded.

Slave Trading in East Central Africa.

THE *Chronicle* of the London Missionary Society for October in an article on Slave Children in Central Africa, refers to the effect of missionary work upon the slave trade in this part of the continent. The missionaries were rightly regarded by the Arab traders as determined enemies to their traffic, and were even in danger of their lives on this account. The mission stations were used as cities of refuge for natives, who were threatened with a raid, or fugitives; whole regions became depopulated and the people lived in constant terror from the raids of the cruel and powerful Awemba chiefs.

"Probably few people in England are aware that such a condition of things existed up to the very close of the nineteenth century. 'As recently as December, 1895,' says the Rev. Harry Johnson in his forthcoming book, *Night and Morning in Dark Africa*, 'the people on our Kambole station were thrown into a state of great excitement by the unsuspected and cowardly attack of an Awemba chief,

named Mpandi, on the village of Kitimbwa, two miles from the mission station. About ten o'clock in the morning, when many of the men were out of the village, the Awemba rushed upon it in force. The people made a good defence until their chief fell dead, when a panic seized them. The men dropped their weapons and fled, some to the woods and others to Kambole for safety. During the afternoon the Rev. Picton Jones kept the gate of the mission premises open, and a continuous procession of women, children, and wounded men sought refuge at the mission.

"That night the enemy were encamped in the neighbourhood, and there was great fear lest they should attack Kambole. However, on the following day they marched off, carrying with them ivory, powder, cloth, and cattle as plunder, with over a hundred women and children as prisoners of war, to become the slaves of the conquerors, and eleven heads to decorate the stockades of their villages."

"In the following year (1896) the agent of the British South Africa Company, at Fife, midway between Tanganyika and Nyassa, intercepted four slave-caravans in as many months, and set the slaves at liberty. All these had come from the Awemba country. The children whose parents could not be found have frequently been handed over to the care of the missionaries by the Administration officials, so that a considerable number of these orphan slave-children are being brought up under the charge of the mission.

"Only last month a letter received from the Rev. C. H. Nutter, of the Awemba Mission, told of three children who had been sold into slavery by an Awemba chief. They were liberated by an English official, who sent them to the mission station at Kawimbe. When Mr. and Mrs. Purves first went to the Awemba country, they took two of these children (a boy and a girl) with them, and succeeded in restoring them both to their parents. Mr. Nutter, on a recent visit to Kazembe, the chief who had sold the children into slavery, found the boy sitting at the chief's feet singing a hymn which he had learnt from the missionaries."

The places named are to the south of Lake Tanganyika, most if not all, in British territory.

The following extract from a letter written by a Roman Catholic missionary, a "white father," is taken from the French Anti-Slavery Society's journal. Karem is on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, towards the Southern end of the lake, in German territory.

"The expedition of Makutubu was organized at Kirando, at two days' march south of Karem, and it is here that they have just brought their spoil, which includes a small quantity of ivory and about 2,000 slaves of every age and either sex. It is pitiful to see these unfortunates chained in groups of twenty to twenty-five, or put into a heavy yoke when the chains run short; almost all are reduced by hunger and fatigue, or by illness, to the condition of walking skeletons, and bear on their arms and legs marks of burns probably inflicted as punishment for some slight fault. Food is scarce and therefore very dear: moreover, their masters refrain from distributing it to them. To keep up the spark of life which is dying out, some few of them run through the villages, trying by their songs and dances to excite the compassion of the inhabitants, the others in larger numbers are content, in order to appease their hunger, to go out and pull up from the jungle a few wild roots which the very beasts would despise.

"When the evening comes, they are heaped up pell mell, all wasted as they are by hunger, fever and dysentery, in improvised huts which afford no protection against the weather, and yet we are in the full season of rains. Father Dromaux told me he had seen some of them penned up in a roofless hut, while, close by, the goats belonging to their master were under shelter. The result of such treatment is easy to guess ; every morning one corpse or several are brought out of every hut to be afterwards left as food for the hyenas of the forest. How will all these wretched sufferers reach Oungangembe and the coast, for thither they are determined to take them ? The bones of a very large number will whiten the tracks which lead to it. For the rest of their journey there will be the same horrible scenes which they have witnessed during their march of nearly a month across Marungu. 'At every stage,' said one of the leaders of the expedition, 'we threw aside ten, twenty, thirty, and as many as fifty men.' Now the word 'throw aside' means 'massacre.' When any unfortunate is too exhausted to keep up with the caravan, they take the horrible precaution of killing him with blows, for fear that if he is able to drag himself to some hamlet, he may succeed in recovering his health and liberty. The rest of the human herd thus understand that they have no choice but to march on or die."

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily Chronicle*, in a recent account of a journey taken by canoe up the river Niger from Lokoja to Jebba, to which place the headquarters of the West African Frontier Force had been transferred, thus describes

THE TERRORS OF SLAVE-RAIDING.

"Soon after leaving Egg—a somewhat more than a third of our journey—we came upon evidences of the handiwork of the Lapai raiders. Several villages on the left bank of the river had been burned, and the inhabitants were huddled together on islands and sandbanks in midstream. These banks were, at this time—the dry season—very numerous. It was pitiful to see the state of absolute poverty in which the poor people were. Lapai had been raiding for slaves ; burning the villages in accordance with the usual custom of these raiders ; taking off young men and girls ; very often killing the old men and women who were useless for his purpose. The inhabitants of the river villages at once fled, leaving everything behind them, but, being boatmen and possessing canoes, they had this advantage over inland villagers, that they were able to take shelter on the islands, taking their canoes with them, and thus leaving the raiders without means of following. The Lapais were not boatmen, and never cared to cross the river. The poor people that I speak of had left everything behind, and were there on those islands with nothing to shelter them but a few hastily-erected grass huts, and nothing to eat but the fish they succeeded in catching in the immediate vicinity of their temporary home. In spite of all their troubles their calm and resignation was most remarkable. They seemed to take their situation as something that was to be expected every now and then, and to be made the best of. Similar scenes to this were encountered for four days, during which time the three white men of our party had to take watches during the night. We took care to pitch our night camps on the banks in mid stream, but we were never

separated by more than a couple of hundred yards from the bank on which the Lapais were operating. We took careful note of the villages that had been destroyed, and also the statements of the headmen of the villages describing the raids and the damage which had been done in each case. Before leaving the subject it is gratifying to be able to add that the punitive expedition under the command of Colonel Pilcher was completely successful. Lapai was taken and the raiders duly punished."

SOUTHERN NIGERIA

It is reported that a most satisfactory change of affairs in the colony has happened within a comparatively short space of time. Under the able administration of Sir Ralph Moor, the slave trade has been abolished, a labour market has been established instead, and a cash currency is being readily accepted by the natives. Since the Aro expedition, a new era is said to have dawned upon that part of the country. From being a country where fetish held absolute sway, and which was known for hundreds of miles round on account of its long Ju-Ju, it is now settling down to be a comparatively civilized place. . . . The headquarters have been established at Bende and Owerri, where, before the recent Aro expedition, a white man dare not appear on account of the great hostility of the natives. Now, however, what are equivalent to law courts have been established, composed of native chiefs under the several District Commissioners, and all disputes, palavers, &c., are settled by them. They are working very smoothly, and the natives are settling down to them in the most satisfactory manner. . . . Benin City, the scene a few years ago of a dreadful massacre of white officials, is no longer a British Residency, but a separate district under a District Commissioner; and even further inland a new district has been created at a place called Ifeo. The opinion is expressed that commerce will continue to increase, as the Aro learns to adapt himself to legitimate trade, in place of his old pastime of traffic in human beings, and that everything points to a prosperous future for the colony, particularly under the direction of its present Governor, Sir Ralph Moor.

Former Slavery in Barotsiland.

THE recent visit of Lewanika, King of Barotsiland, to this country gives a special interest to an article on the Barotsi Mission and its brave pioneer missionary, M. Coillard, in the September number of the *Sunday Strand*. The writer describes the dangers and difficulties which these missionaries had to undergo when they first attempted to settle in the Barotsi country:—

"Bivouacking in waggon or tent for months waiting for access to the king, detained by revolution, plundered with impunity, wading rivers to their

waist, preyed upon by lions and crocodiles, their books, instruments, clothes, and medicines deluged, their waggons sinking in bogs, their hatchets cleaving a slow way through deep forests, their hearts sickened by sights of slave markets and by the massacres, poison-cups, and brutalities that filled the people's life with terror, M. and Mme. Coillard held to their campaign with calm, unconquerable faith, with no protection save their own personal influence and character."

The following picture of the treatment of slaves among the Barotsi fortunately relates to the past, and a great change has taken place, owing to the noble labours of the French and Swiss Protestant missionaries, and to the establishment of British rule in the country. A treaty promising British protection was concluded with Lewanika in 1890, but it was not until 1897 that Major Coryndon, the first British Resident, arrived in the capital; before that time there was no external authority beyond that of Lewanika himself.

A recent traveller speaks of the more than outward transformation which has been effected by the mission both in the moral and material domain; at the court of Lewanika he found "order, cleanliness, courtesy and hospitality."

Here is the contrasted picture of the condition of the people not many years ago:—

"What of domestic slavery, that institution which some believe to be the ideal social state for Africa? Picture thousands of Barotsi crouching in a circle before the king and the principal chiefs of the country. In the midst, huddled up together, are hundreds of these unfortunate prisoners. Not a single man among them; no young men. And for a very good reason. A man is never made prisoner; he is killed and disembowelled. There are not even any old women. What could they do with them? These are young women, the greater number with little children on their backs, and a multitude of children of all ages and both sexes. See one band after another, who are made to approach and subjected to a minute inspection, amid the mirth and obscene remarks of the multitude, while thousands of eyes are fixed upon them with unabashed cupidity. The unweaned babe is left at its mother's breast. But all who can walk are so many domestic animals, which are distributed right and left. Poor children! no more father or mother for them. But they will get used to it; and one day they, too, like these men of to-day, will find their pleasure and their glory in making orphans.

"Here is a little child scarcely three years old, who is being snatched from a young woman's arms. He shrieks and kicks, wrenches himself free, and runs into the middle of the crowd, quite lost and crying for his mother, who has already been carried off. This unrehearsed effect is a capital joke for everybody. 'Knock him down!' they shouted laughingly to his master. He understood his own interests better than that, and soon recaptured the refractory little creature. And now it is the turn of another young mother. 'Take that baby away!' But she, heedless of the situation, seizes it and clutches it convulsively in her arms. Fire darts from her eyes, and from her lips a torrent of words, highly mirth-provoking to all around. They were already proceeding to violence, when Lewanika let himself be moved, and ordered them to leave her child to her. Fortunate warrior; two domestic animals instead of one! I could stand it no longer. I fled from these sickening scenes."

SLAVE TRADE IN MOROCCO.

THE special correspondent of the *Standard* in an article describing the city of Fez, thus refers to the slave market :—

“The people of this northern capital do not encourage the curiosity of strangers from Europe. Every attempt to visit the slave market during business hours was frustrated. The moment we appeared at the gate all traffic in human flesh was suspended, and we saw nothing but rows of men squatting on the ground before heaps of grain, for the corn market is also the slave market, and business begins shortly before sunset. Several negresses in gaudy attire were on view in one of the walled recesses, and bidding had evidently begun. With a solitary exception, the slaves appeared quite unconcerned, and even smilingly happy at the prospect of entering the harem of some wealthy Moor. We returned again and again with the same result. It was clear that our approach was made known every time, for the bidding ceased, and would-be purchasers sat in silent contemplation of the corn heaps. Caravans still bring supplies of men, women, and children from the Sahara, but the sources of these supplies are slowly disappearing, and the railway which the French are constructing with the object of uniting Algiers with Timbuctoo will effectually destroy the traffic.”—*Standard*, August 26.

Open slave markets are probably only held in the three capitals of Marrakesh, Fez, and Mequinez, and while the presence of a Christian spectator at Fez at once stops business, the dealings at Marrakesh can be watched freely.

THE EMANCIPATION ACT OF 1838.

BRITISH West Indians still keep August 1st, which is the day on which the Emancipation Act of 1838 came into force, and hold meetings or services in thankful celebration of the anniversary.

The following account of one of these is from a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society by the Rev. A. N. McDonald, acting minister of a church at Port Limon, in the Republic of Costa Rica, where the majority of the inhabitants of the division are British West Indians, chiefly Jamaicans.

“I have the pleasure of informing you that on Monday night, August 4th, there was an enthusiastic meeting in the Limon Baptist Church commemorative of the 64th anniversary of freedom in the British West Indies, at which meeting I had the honour to preside. The speakers, Revs. J. H. Sobey (Baptist), E. A. Pitt (Wesleyan), Archdeacon Swaby (Episcopal), and Messrs. J. H. Reid, J. W. Allen, W. Thomas, and H. Hylton, were all, with the exception of Mr. Sobey, descendants of those who in 1838 had been emancipated. We remembered with thankfulness how God led His people forth by the hand of—not Moses and Aaron, as it was with Israel, but—a number of valiant men, whose names, too many to be here recorded, are immortalized to the race by the devoted and self-sacrificing service they have rendered us. May God grant that instead of such fathers may be their children . . . princes in all the earth. The sum of 28s. was raised which I have asked to be forwarded to you.”

OLD SLAVERY CUSTOMS IN BURMA.

THE reports on the administration of the Chin Hill districts, in Upper Burma for the past year contain many interesting illustrations of the difficulties attending the introduction of civilization amongst wild and primitive peoples. A portion of the younger generation is said to appreciate British rule, but the older men resent our presence, and entertain a belief that the white strangers will soon leave their hills. The enslaving of captives is to them the most natural and usual thing possible, and to deprive them of their spoil is resented as an injury. Thus, in one village the people levied dues from certain households in another village, which the former claimed as enslaved to them. "The matter was watched with great interest by all other tribes, as on the slightest pretext other owners of slaves would have claimed dues from, or else enforced the return of, slaves who have freed themselves, and the result would have been disorder and oppression throughout the district." The offenders were punished and the property restored, but the doctrine of human freedom is so new and strange to the Chins that they cannot credit its enforcement amongst themselves.—*The Times*, October 10.

Obituary.

MR. EDWARD HARRISON, Barrister-at-Law (Temple and Lincoln's Inn), who died on August 9th last, was a member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society from January, 1880, until his resignation at the end of 1896. He had just passed his 79th birthday.

His connection with Abolition work was hereditary, for he was the grandson of GEORGE HARRISON, a member of the Society of Friends, and of the first Anti-Slavery Committee formed in 1783, which included also the names of Samuel Hoare, Thomas Knowles, M.D., John Lloyd and Joseph Woods. In 1787 this small committee extended its borders, and a little Society was formed, of which Thomas Clarkson was chairman. It consisted of 12 members, and contained the names of Granville Sharp and George Harrison. It seems curious that at this date Thomas Fowell Buxton, the famous Abolitionist, was only one year old, and it is noteworthy that of the 12 members 10 belonged to the Society of Friends. Wilberforce, who was born in 1759, does not appear to have joined the little Society, but he availed himself of its services, and was its representative in Parliament until the Act for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade was passed in 1807. George Harrison joined other committees after this date, all of which were formed with a view to help the African slave.

For very many years he was an intimate friend and co-worker with Thomas Clarkson, who presented him with a copy of his published diary, in which he inscribed with his own hand the following lines:—

"To George Harrison, an unwearied fellow-labourer in the great cause of the
Abolition of the Slave-Trade, this work is affectionately presented by the author."

In 1777 George Harrison married Susanna, daughter of William Cookworthy, an eminent minister of the Society of Friends, and a chemist of no mean order. Whilst resident at Plymouth he discovered the celebrated Cornish clay, and was the first person who introduced the manufacture of real porcelain from English clay. It has now become scarce, and always possessed a high value. Mr. Cookworthy was one of the very few Englishmen who had a personal acquaintance with the noted Swedish seer Emmanuel Swedenborg.

In 1827 George Harrison died, still full of anti-slavery zeal, and as his grandson Edward has only just departed this life, the family name has long been honourably connected with the great work of human freedom.

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

MISS ROSAMOND DAVENPORT-HILL, who died on August 5th, came of a family well known in connection with many kinds of social reform, being a daughter of Matthew Davenport Hill, M.P., from whom she inherited a hatred of slavery. While Miss Davenport-Hill's most prominent public work was connected with the London School Board, she took an active part in other efforts for social well-being, and with her sister, Miss Florence Hill, was a member and supporter of the Anti-Slavery Society.

The late Matthew Davenport-Hill was a firm adherent of the Abolition policy which resulted in the Emancipation Act of 1833, and supported it by voice and vote in Parliament.

On one occasion, as a correspondent informs us, he congratulated the House of Commons that the slave did not add to their difficulties by himself demanding compensation, like the master who had appropriated the fruits of his toil; for if the slave presented himself with the plea that he had spent the best years of his life in compulsory labour for another, he might well say, "If you have money to spare, pay me first;"—and he (the speaker) knew not how they could resist his claim.